[Prof. Chandresh P. Thakur]

many things have happened and so many things have developed and now we are facing a situation like this. So, forgetting all those things, putting all the blame on the new Government which has come into power only nine months back, is very bad. And our friends also must realise the truth. So, many refugees are there now. Thousands of migrants are there now. They are all suffering. Proper relief must be given to them. We must immediately see to it that all the Kashmiri migrants are taken care of. About 10,000 NGOs are also there among them. All these people should be taken care 4.00 P.M. of by the administration now. So, if all these steps are taken now, I think the prevailing situation in Kashmir can be bettered and we can work out a proper solution also to the problem. If all of us are so seriously concerned about Kashmir, about preserving Kashmir, about retaining it in our country, and if we consider it as a paradise and do not want to make it a hell, then we must see that all these positive steps that are taken by the national Front Government are supported by all of us. We should also see to it that the National Front Government takes it as a warning that the atrocities that have been committed up till now are not repeated. Otherwise, it would only help in alienating the Kashmiri population from our integration movement. Therefore, we must see that such atrocities such inhuman things, are not committed there.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION SITUATION IN SRI LANKA

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Now, we will take up the Short-Duration Discussion on the situation in Sri Lanka... (*Interruptions*)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: What about this? ... (*Interruptions*)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): We have agreed that at 4 o'clock we will take this up and, after that, we will discuss the Resolutions relating to Kashmir.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Provided this is completed before 6 o'clock. We will not sit after that... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It is not in my hands; it is in the hands of the House... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, the Business Advisory Committee has decided that we should sit upto 5 p.m. and beyond 6 p.m. as and when necessary ... (*Interruptions*)...

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): Sir, may I say one thing? ... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The only thing that can be done is that the Minister of State for Home Affairs should keep sitting here till then or return at 6 o'clock to see what the House decides. Yes, Mr. Gopalsamy, you start now... (Interruptions)...Yes Mr. Gopalsamy, you start now. You have got six minutes. I know you can speak for several days on this.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, the Business Advisory Committee has decided and all the Members also have agreed that the House should sit beyond 6 o'clock. Everybody agreed that we should sit beyond 6 o'clock so that we could get more time. Therefore, it was decided to take this up at 4 o'clock in the evening... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The Business Advisory Committee has allotted two hours for the subject and you are the first speaker. You may enjoy

that privilege and get moving. You start now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In that case, I do not know what to say... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Please let him start. This is a very serious issue and I think every Member of the House will listen to Mr. Gopalsamy. You go ahead now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are applying the brakes even before the vehicle starts moving!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): No. I have just given you the parameters and they are not only for you. Yes, you start now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the tragedy of the Sri Lankan Tamils continues without an end in sight.

Sir, at this very moment, the Sri Lankan Army is parading in the streets of Jafna and, right at this moment, helicopters gunships and war planes are bombing the Tamil areas to kill and wipe out the entire Tamil civilian population there. Even the children there are not spared. Blood is flowing and hundreds and hundreds of civilians are being killed there. Under the guise of waging war with the Tigers, the LTTE, the Sri Lankan Government launched a multi-pronged offensive: the Air Force, the Navy and the Army decimated the Tamil population. At this very moment, young boys of about 12 years are taken to army camps and their limbs are cut off and hands severed. They bleed to death. Even if they survive, they will not be able to take up arms to defend their honour and dignity. Sir, pregnant women are being shot. A news appeared that the Singhalese armed forces have gone berserk to shoot at wombs because these wombs carry the Tigers. A news appeared in the Press that dog bitten bodies of Tamils lay across the roadways. Sir, more than 80,000 refugees since the escalation started have reached the Indian shores. It will cross 100,000 in another week. It may exceed 2 to 3 lakhs, because already 500 Tamil families have become refugees in their homeland. Sir, all over the world the Tamils are shedding tears today. As my mentor and leader, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Kalaignar, said: Only the tears are the sea to protect them.

Sir, the influx of refugees is an indirect act of aggression on India. This is an intolerable strain and stress not only on the State of Tamil Nadu but also on India. When thousands and thousands of refugees landed in West Bengal, in Orissa, at that time Madam Gandhi said on the floor of this House: it is not an internal problem of Pakistan; it is a universal problem of human rights. So what is happening in Sri Lanka is nothing but genocide. The Tamil kids are mutilated and they are thrown to flames. The Tamil women are subjected to unbearable horrors, rape, molestation and killing. Their property is looted. Sir, even when they try to cross the sea, the Palk Strait, the Sri Lankan Navy intercepts them and kills them. Mines have been put in the ocean. Sir, who is responsible for this confrontation? The Sri Lankan Government has started a Goebbeisian campaign, disinformation campaign, putting the blame on the militants the Tigers.

Sir, to one thing I would like to draw the attention of the House. The Sri Lankan Government has not repealed the Sixth Amendment, which was described by Justice Krishna Iyer as a hangman's noose on Tamils. The Sixth Amendment has not been repealed. At the same time the LTTE was seriously preparing for the elections in the hope that if they win the election their credibility would be established in the eyes of the world. Once the Sri Lankan Government finished the JVP 35000 cadres of JVP then they stand against the Tamils. They did not allow the LTTE to win the elections. On one pretext

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or the other, they started this war. Even in the months of April and May, medicines had been stopped from reaching Jaffna and the northern provinces. From the month of May, all the medicines had been stopped and the foodstuffs had been stopped. They started forming bunkers. The military aeroplanes were spying the Tamil areas. By 11th June, the confrontation started. Sir, what went wrong? Where it went wrong? Why it went wrong? Of course, there was an accord. It would be pertinent on my part to point out what Mr. J.R. Jayewardene stated three days back. He said: "By the end of 1986 and in the first part of 1987, we were not able to enter the northern provinces. We were not able to send our Armed Forces. At that time we had no such war planes and arms and ammunition. When the Indian Government came for a accord, it was a panacea." This is what is stated by Mr. Jayewardene. Now we can understand. When they were not able to send their Armed Forces into the northern provinces and when India offered an agreement or accord, Jayewardene readily agreed. It was a trecherous trap, very cunningly prepared.

Sir, the question arises as to why they had these negotiations. When the LTTE knocked the doors of this Government for talks and negotiations, repeatedly sending communications, their letters were thrown into the dustbin. They had no other go. Today on the floor of the Parliament, a Minister of the Srilankan Government, Mr. Ranjan Wijeratne, who is behaving like a hawk, thunders. He says this time the Tamils will piss in their trousers. He is uttering these words on the floor of the Parliament. He will bring the head of Prabhakaran on 15th August. Premadasa goes and tells them that India says they will not interfere in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. We appreciate the stand taken by India. India could lead the Asian region. This is the talk of Mr. Premadasa. An impression has been created that India has become a spectator. An impression is created that India is sitting like an idle spectator, sitting like a lame duck because of their week-kneed policy. Such an impression should be erased. He said we had an accord for geo-political considerations. Today, the Srilankan Government is getting arms from Pakistan, Pakistan warships are very often seen in the Colombo harbour. They are getting arms from Pakistan, from China and from the Muslim countries. They are cleverly using the Muslim cause for this purpose.

It is very clear that the Premadasa government is actively promoting a state of confrontation between the *Tamils and the Muslims in the East.* In fact, an insidious campaign that the Tigers had butchered 62 Muslims in Nintavur in the East was launched as early as June 22, as a prelude to the proposed arms-buying mission to West-Asian countries to be undertaken by Defence Minister Ranjan Wijeratne and party. (Headline reports in Indian newspapers, 23 June) Unfortunately, the report boomeranged on the government because it could not convince even the Muslim residents of the area that such an incident happened. The day later the Sri Lankan authorities retracted the charge. "The Sri Lankan army today acknowledged that it had issued a false report about the massacre of 62 Muslims by the LTTE. Officials said that only three were killed when rebels looted a village in eastern Sri Lanka." (*The Hindu*, June 24) But since then, the government has succeeded in bringing about a division within the Muslim community itself in the East; with one section (whose voice is not heard) yet remaining convinced that their future lies in co-existing peacefully with their Tamil neighbours in the East, while another section has fallen into the trap laid by the Colombo government. Sir, under these circumstances, we should take note of one point that the Sri Lankan Government suddenly closed two months back the Special Interest Section of the Israeli Govern-

ment which was opened in the US Embassy despite the protests of the US Government. It was opened in 1984. So, Israeli Special Interest Section all of a sudden was closed down. So, they closed the Israeli High Commission office, and they started send ing missions to the Muslim countries.

Sir, again in the East, on Trincomalee, if people manage to survive, they also say that 'death can come to anyone, at any moment through indiscriminate bombing.' There is complete dislocation of civilian life, coupled with near starvation conditions under which they survive. Sir, for the first time, Tamils are dying of starvation in their history. There are no medicines for the injured. Sir, about Baghdad, Mr. Kurt Waldheim of Austria visited Iraq. When he came back, he announced that medicines and foodstuffs should be sent to Baghdad Even though there is an economic blockade sanctioned by the United Nations, foodstuffs and medicines could reach there. But here they do not get the medicines for the wounded and the injured. They die of starvation. It is a foulest form of genocide We cannot shut our eyes simply seeing innocent Tamil civilians dying there. This is happening. They are human beings. Therefore, Sir, we should not be taken for a ride by the Premadasa Government as if we are sitting as idle spectators. Sir, already more than half of the town population of Tamils in Trincomalee have moved either to the north of Trincomalee or fled to the Jaffna peninsula Sir, it is said, "evacuate the entire Jaffna population consisting of more than 8 lakhs of people out of the Jaffna peninsula." This is the statement made by the Sri Lankan Minister of Defence Ranjan Wijeratne in Sri Lankan Parliament which the Sri Lankan Government would itself know is a preposterous and impracticable idea. It again said, "Or in the alternative bomb the population to death or to submission or starve them towards the same end."

Sir, there are only three big hospitals in the North—one in Jaffna, one in Manipay and the other in Point Pedro. The Jaffna hospital has been totally destroyed and paralysed. And the Manipay hospital was also destroyed seven or eight days back. And the Point Pedro hospital is also not functioning because of bombing. Therefore, Sir, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu yesterday has written a letter to the Prime Minister. I quote one portion of this letter:

> "The situation in the areas occupied by the Tamils of Sri Lanka is day by day assuming very serious proportions. After bombing and killing innocent helpless Tamils, the Sri Lankan Army have been giving out disinformation that they have killed LTTE militants. It is my appeal to you that the Government of India should take appropriate action to remove the sufferings of the Sri Lankan Tamils and stop the genocide that is currently going on there. The Government of India may undertake the responsibility to make both the parties to cease fire and come to a negotiating table for a political solution..."

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let him conclude.

SHRI G SWAMINATHAN: Sir, Mr. Ram Awadhesh Singh is sitting in the seat of the Prime Minister. When did he become the Prime Minister of India?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let him conclude.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I further quote:

> "If it is not done, Tamils all over the world would be distressed that the Tamils in Sri Lanka are condemned to be helpless destitutes Tamils living in many countries are also in telephonic talks with me lamenting and urging that an early satisfactory solution should be

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found. The situation has become so serious that I will be failing in my duty if I do not bring the gravity of the situation to your personal notice for your kind intevention and remedial action."

Sir, the Foreign Minister should visit Colombo. He should go over there. He has already visited Gulf countries. Sir, all options should be used. Diplomatic pressure should be used.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): The Prime Minister should go. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I do not agree with that. It is your view. I am putting forth my view.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Gopalsamy, I suggest that you kindly conclude now.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Just one or two minutes, Sir.

Sir, the Sri Lankan Navy has got the guts to enter into our territorial waters. This happened previously also; in 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1986. Ninety-six times they entered into our territorial waters and assaulted the Indians, i.e., the fishermen from Tamil Nadu. Again, in these two months, many times they have entered into our territorial waters and attacked our fishermen. Many of our fishermen have been seriously wounded. They are killing the Tamils there and here they have the guts to enter into our territorial waters and attack our people.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: What is your Government doing? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): He is the one who is raising the discussion. You should remember that.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is very unfortunate and tragic. Of course, the I.P.K.F., went there. Theirs was an unavoidable and irritable task. Brothers were pitted against brothers. Brothers fought against brothers. Brothers died on both sides. Blood flowed on both sides. This was because of the wrong policies pursued by the erstwhile Government. It was very clearly stated by Mr. Jayewardene that they were not able to enter the Northern Province. At that time, the Indian Government suggested an accord. Mr. Jayewardene has said 'It was a panacea for us'.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Gopalsamy, please conclude.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They say about arms. Of course, we are preaching *ahimsa*. But the sinhaltse who worship Buddha have taken to arms. They are getting logistic support from many countries. They are using planes, helicopter gunships, gunboats, etc., to decimate the Tamils. And these people are preaching that Tamils should not take to arms!

Sir, for thirty long years, through demonstrations, peaceful demonstrations speeches in Parliament, through *ahimsa*, through non-violence, they tried to get honour and justice. But justice was denied to them. There have been agreements earlier, in 1957 and 1965. But all the agreements were unilaterally abrogated and justice was denied to them. Do you except the Tamils to live in slavery, in sub-jugation? They are human beings. They want to live in honour and dignity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Gopalsamy, that is all.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: A situation should be created...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI T. R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): Sir, you can give my time to him, I am not going to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Do you know how long he has spoken? you do not know that. Please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will take two-three minutes more.

SHRI T. R. BALU: Sir, he can take my time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDESH P. THAKUR): There is no need for pleading. He has already spoken for 25 minutes. You party time is over. You cannot have time from nowhere.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, the Government of India should take all possible steps to see that the aerial bombardment is stopped.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): This is a general enough statement. It includes everything.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Therefore, a proper situation should be created so that the refugees who have come over here would be able to go back again to their homeland. Unless a political settlement is there, they cannot go back there. They do not believe the Sri Lankan Government. They do not have any faith in Wijeratne or Premadasa.

You can imagine the plight of the refugees who have come over here. I visited the refugees camps along with our Chief Minister. We shuddered to hear the heart-rending tales of woe from them. The Sri Lankan troops killed and mutilated them. Whoever is a Tamil will be butchered, will be killed. It may be a boy or a girl or a kid. This is what is happening. Therefore, unless a proper situation is created, unless a conducive atmosphere is created, they cannot go back. It is an intolerable stress and strain not only on Tamil Nadu but on the entire country as well. Already there are 500,000 refugees. Ultimately all the Tamils will become refugees. Such a horrible situation has arisen there. It is not just an internal problem of Sri Lanka. It is a universal problem of human rights. You look at this problem from this angle. When genoside is being committed there, you cannot say that it is an internal problem of Sri Lanka. We have had our ethnic bondage with them for thousands of years. There are 50 million Tamils. When you preach sermons that it is not the problem of Tamils, it is the problem of India, not only you show your concern but tell them in no uncertain terms that aerial bombardment should be stopped forthwith because hundreds and hundreds of Tamils are being killed every day. Are they not human beings? Therefore, it is high time for the Government of India to take all concreate steps. They should use the diplomatic pressure. It is a tiny island, a small country. They cannot dictate you. So, it is high time for the Government of India to take concrete steps to stop the genocide and stop the killings.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Shri Narayanasamy.

AN HON. MEMBER: So, it is the day of 'Swamis' today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Yes, all Swamis but you do not realise what you are inviting for yourself.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, with all anguish in my heart I would like to raise a discussion on the present situation that it prevailing in Sri Lanka and the consequent developments that are taking place in Tamil Nadu. Every day in Sri Lanka we are seeing what is happening. Last week the subject could not be raised. It is the pertinent time to raise a question about the situation prevailing in Sri Lanka I am very happy that Mr. Gopalsamy though he is part or a constituent of the National Front Government, also wanted the genoside, that is being committed in Sri Lanka by the Premadasa Government, to be stopped immedia-

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tely. He also wanted that the Government of India should act. But, Sir, I would like to say that this is not the ethnic issue alone. It is not a problem of today or of 5-10 years back. It has been there right from 1944 when Salisbury Committee was appointed to go into the problems faced by the Tamils who are living in Sri Lanka.

Sir, in 1983 when Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister, Mr. Minister I would like to remind you.... The Minister is not responding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The Minister, whether he gives the gesture or not, is supposed to listen.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I felt that he was not listening to me. I would like to draw his attention....

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): The Minister's mind is on the Cabinet crisis which they are undergoing now. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister and when innocent Tamils and civilian population was being massacred by the Sri Lankan armed forces, she gave a call and said in categorical terms that India will not be a tacit spectator of all the killings of Tamils that are taking place in Sri Lanka. Once again I would like to remind the Minister, when Shri Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister he took keen interest in Sri Lankan problem, he was cooperated and supported by Shri M. G. Ramachandran, who was the then Chief of Tamil Nadu. Shri Rajiv Gandhi studied the problems being faced by Tamils in Sri Lanka. He sent his Cabinet Ministers to have discussions with the Sri Lankan Government. Finally, he arrived at a settlement with President Jayawardene without affecting the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and also safeguarding the Indian territory from being surrounded by foreign powers. The great achievements made in signing the accord in 1987 were: A Tamilian was installed as the Chief Minister in North Eastern region, Tamil was recognised as the official language there, and presence of America, Israel and Pakistan was eliminated from there.

These are the achievements which Shri Rajiv Gandhi made for the purpose of saving Tamils in Sri aLnka. Apart from that, the hon'ble Singhji is reminding me that Shri Rajiv Gandhi went there and was attacked We were fortunate in that he was saved. So he went there at the risk of his life. After that Shri Jayawardene, the then President of Sri Lanka, requested Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our former Prime Minister to send IPKF for the safety and security of the Tamils who are living in the north-eastern region. Our IPKF personnel were sent. It was very clear that the IPKF personnel were not fighting the militants, were not fighting the Sri Lankan forces, but were giving protection to the Tamils living in the north-eastern regions. Thousands of IPKF personnel were not fighting process of saving the Tamils who are living in Sri Lanka. But after the present Government took office, neither the Prime Minister, nor the External Affairs Minister took interest in the Sri Lankan Tamils' issue. What have they done over the past nine months? This Government has not reacted to the situation that is prevailing in Sri Lanka. First and foremost, this Government is blowing hot and cold. On the one hand, Goverment says that they will honour the agreement that was signed by Shri Rajiv Gandi with Shri Jayawardene. On the other hand, at the request of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Sri Karunanidhi, they have withdrawn the IPKF. The situation has escalated after the withdrawal of IPKF from Sri Lanka. If you go through the history, within a period of seven months, it is not only LTTE, not only the armed personnel but the civilian population also which has been bombarded by the Sri Lankan army, navy and air force. They have been trying to annihilate the en-

tire Tamil race from there. Apart from that, the Sri Lankan Government, in a calculated manner, are installing Sinhalese in the Tamil-dominated areas. The are creating Sinhala colonisation there so that the Tamils will become a minority and the Sinhalese can gain control over there.

In his statement day before yesterday the Prime Minister showed his concern about what is going on in Sri Lanka today. It is not time for the Prime Minister to show his concern alone. The Prime Minister of this country should act. It is not an internal problem of Sri Lanka. This Government gave a categorical statement that the situation prevailing in Sri Lanka is an internal problem of that country. Sir, I would like to remind the hon. Minister that it is not an internal problem of Sri Lanka alone. It is a problem of India, as far as its security in the Indian Ocean is concerned. In the name of getting weapons to keep the Sri Lankan identity, the Pakistani forces are coming. Pakistani weapons are coming. On the one side, we say that Pakistan is not agreeing with us on the border problem here, on other side Pakistani forces are coming to Sri Lanka which is very near to our South Indian border. Therefore, this Government cannot be a passive spectator to all the events that are taking place in Sri Lanka. The blunder that this Government had committed was in handing over the problem of Sri Lankan Tamils to be solved through the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu because the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has been identified by everybody as the supporter of LTTE. By allowing the Chief Minister to negotiate, this Government has abdicated its responsibility and thereby allowed a party to the issue to become a neutral person. How can the Sri Lankan Tamils get justice when the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu was allowed to discuss the issue.

SHRI T. R. BALU: Why not? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PASUMPON THA. KIRUTTINAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Narayanasamy, you can speak about the problems of the Tamils. You need not go into these politics.. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I did not criticize Rajiv Gandhi; I did not mention the name of Rajiv Gandhi .... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Don't interefere. You are not the lone saviour of the Tamils. We have also our own part to play. Kindly sit down and listen to him. We were listening when Mr. Gopalsamy was speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): May I suggest.... (*Interruptions*) .. All of you, please sit down.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: This is not at all fair on your part.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Please continue... (*Interruptions*)... Please sit down (*Interruptions*).. None of these things will go on record. This shouting and counter-shouting is not serving any purpose... ..(*Interruptions*)... When Mr. Gopalsamy was speaking, everybody was listening with patience. (*Interruptions*)... All the three of you, please sit diwn... Mr. Narayanasamy, kindly avoid provocative statements. Please continue with your speech.. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu):*...(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): This shouting... (*Interruptions*)... This is not going to help. None of these things will go on record.

SHRI T. A MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu):* (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, I am telling because ....

*Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Look, as an individual Member you are entitled to your views, but kindly do not mention the name of one who is not here personally.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, is it not a fact that the Central Government assigned the responsibility of holding discussions with the LTTE for the purpose of settling the issue or not? It is a fact.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): No, none of these things will go on record. *(Interruptions)*... Please, all of you, sit down. The question of Tamil leadership is not under dispute here. Tamil leadership is not being decided here. It is the Sri Lanka issue... *(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. Let him speak.

Let me remind you please. .. .... *(Interruptions)*... ...None of these things will go on record. Let me remind the Members that by shouting at each other you are weakening the cause of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Let us talk in one language so far as the Sri Lanka issue is concerned. Let Mr. Narayanasamy speak.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, why I am saying that this Central Government has bungled is because of this: I will give three, four instances When there was an attack by the Sri Lankan forces against the LTTE, they started moving towards Tamil Nadu. Some of them, most of these people, civilians, came as refugees. The LTTE persons who came to Tamil Nadu, did not keep quiet. They created a law-and-order problem in Tamil Nadu, number one. When innocent fishermen from Rameshwaram area were going for fishing, they caught hold of them and harassed them. Secondly, Customs officials were kidnapped.

*Not recorded.

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are discussing about Sri Lankan Tamils.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I know that.

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY:*

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI (Madhya Pradesh)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We did not keep quiet. We raised our voice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): None of these things will go on record.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I suggest that fights of this kind should be sorted out in the lobby or at their respective residences. Let him speak.

SHRI T. R. BALU:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): This interruption is not helping anybody. Why don't you realise that?

SHRI T. R. BALU: *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I am requesting him also.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Whether it is relevant or not, the Chairman is going to decide.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): At the personal level why are you fighting it out? There is no need.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:*

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATARAMAN (Tamil Nadu):*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Those words will not go on record. *(Inter-*

ruptions) None of these things will go on record

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It is very difficult to say who is harming what. Please keep quiet, all of you. Mr. Ramachandran, please sit down.

SHRI T. R. BALU: *

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It does not help you. Please let him speak.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:*

SHRI T. R. BALU:*

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKAT RAMAN:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): None of these things will go on record. They are absolutely irrelevant. Shouts and counter-shouts are going on.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: It is extremely regrettable, Mr. Ramachandran, that you are reducing the level of the debate to this. This is a national problem. *(Interruptions)*

I am saying this for both the sides. It is not a debate between Tamils. It is a debate in which all of us are concerned. It is not a Tamil problem ...*(Interruptions)*... It might be at. . *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: When I raised the issue of failure of this Government, why you are not tolerating?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am the one who raised this subject through a special mention. I am not a "Samy" and I am proud of it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): None of these things will go on record...*(Interruptions)*... Just listen...*(Interruptions)*...Mr. Venkataraman, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... None of these things will go on record. It is a very serious issue...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Gopalsamy, will you kindly control your colleagues?...*(Interruptions)*... No personal remarks will go on record...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Don't make it a debate of this kind. ..*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): None of these things will go on record.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Mr. Balu is again accusing me that I have called them"**". I never said it. I did not use the word like that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): So nice of you. ...*(Interruptions)*... Why are you wasting everybody's time?...*(Interruptions)*.... Please sit down. Nothing has gone on record...*(Interruptions)*... What Mr. Yashwant Sinha has said, there is a lot of value in that. Let us not convert this serious national concern into a* personal debate...*(Interruptions)*. ..You are sorry about what?...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. Just sit down...*(Interruptions)*... I say, sit down. There is a limit to everything. Do you disagree there is a national concern about Sri Lanka? Do you disagree that it is not only Tamilians issue? Do you disagree that only Tamilians should not discuss the Sri Lankan issue? Then, why are you converting this debate into this kind of a situation? When you accuse others, don't forget that you also cross limits. So unless there is a mutual respect, nobody can make any useful contribution. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is not helping you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Why our Members are agitated because our hon. colleague, Mr. S. K. T. Rama-

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**Not recorded.

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

chandran has called our Members as "**" That is why they are very much apologised... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: He has apologised... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: I am willing to tender my apology... (*Interruptions*)... had I hurted the feelings of my friends.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): When I have said ten times that nothing is going on record, it is falling on ears which are deaf and you are still saying he has said. What is the sense in that?

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: *If it is not going on record*, then, it is all right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): You have shouted so long that you don't hear when it has been declared "not going on record.".

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: It has been orally stated and I have heard it.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) मान्यवर माहौल बदल जाए जरा मैं शेर कह रहा हूं "वफा का उम्मीद उनसे जो नहा जानते वफा क्या है"

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a very serious issue. It concerns the entire nation. It is not the question of that side or this side. Our Tamil brethren and sisters are suffering in Sri Lanka and it is a matter of concern for all of us. Let us not make it an acrimony in any form and our references must be restrained. Having said this, I would like to make a submission. You have been pleased to use a word which if it goes on record might reflect on the Members...sitting on both the sides. May I request you to kindly reconsider about expunging the word** which you have used?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That will be expunged. I am very sorry about it.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Thank you, Sir.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Thirdly, I would like to say that because of the inflow of militants in Tamil Nadu, in Ramnad district, police outpost was attacked by the LTTE. Apart from that, heinous crimes that have been committed in Tamil Nadu are, the LTTE personnel came to Madras city and killed EPRLF leader, Padamanabha and sixteen others in broad daylight in Madras city. Why I am stressing this point... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY:*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Narayanasamy, please confine yourself to the basic issue. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am telling this in relation to... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:*

SHRI T. R. BALU:*

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): None of these things will go on record.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, may I with folded hands, with all the humility at my command, request Mr. Narayanasamy, through you, not to use provocative phrases or facts in his speech. This is a very serious issue. We are all concerned with it and it will be a great tragedy if we reduce it to partisan level. This is an appeal I am making. Let us maintain the level of the debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr.

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

*Not recorded.

Narayanasamy, you should apply a strategy which will help you to make progress.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): Sir, I appreciate Mr. Sinha's statement, but I will request him with folded hands, please request your people to use restraint.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): He has requested everybody. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Sir, if this debate is reduced to discussing the conduct of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister in this House, then it will be a very sad development.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That should not be done. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You do not know what is happening... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): All of you sit down. (*Interruptions*)... The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister is not under discussion. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Narayanasamy ti continue. You avoid personal references. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is not under discussion. Only the Sri Lanka issue is here. Please continue.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He was negotiating. He was deputed by the Central Government. How they failed, I want to say. How the present Government has failed in solving the Sri Lanka problem... (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Come to the point.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am telling the points one by one. On every point they are rising up.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): I would very earnestly appeal that unless we raise the level of the debate on this issue at a very high level, I do not think it is going to have any good impact. In fact, I feel we will not serve the people, the Tamilians in Sri Lanka, if these things are reported—I mean what is happening here. (*Interruptions*). Therefore, let us raise the debate to a level where it carries conviction and we satisfy the people who are suffering there. This is not a matter of politics. In my view, this is a national issue.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: We entirely endorse what you say.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Speaking for myself.. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You were not there when I spoke. Had you been there, you would appreciate my stand.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Speaking for myself, I am very upset about the manner in which the Central Government is keeping quiet. The Central Government should have acted. And the Central Government is not expressing its concern at all.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I said it. I did not accuse Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: You might have said it. Mr. Gopalsamy, will you serve the cause of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka if you speak about Rajiv Gandhi or anybody else?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have got my views. (*Interruption*).

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: I am saying there are issues where we can fight, where there is a cause for a fight. But these are not such issues. This is an issue with which everyone is concerned and everyone's voice must be heard in such a manner that it soothes the feelings of the Tamilians in Sri Lanka. Let us proceed from that promise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let us respect the spirit in which Mr. Sinha and the Leader of the Opposition have made observations and let us raise the level of the debate. We have our mutual differences. But

[Shri Prof. Chandresh P. Thakur] do not forget that each Member has a tendency to jump up and that does not help because you may have sort of reasons to be worked up. It is good to listen and then react when you have a chance even if something which is not palatable to you has been said. This will help in making the point or attacking the point already made. So, Mr. Narayanasamy, please continue and conclude as soon as you can.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, the Sri Lankan Government was clever enough to divide the various militant groups and their aim was to create a rift among the militant organisations and eliminate each and every group and then finally eliminate the LTTE. Partially they succeeded in that strategy. What happened actually when a cease-fire was declared between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan Government? Four important points were agreed upon. One was about the dissolution of the North-Eastern Council. The second was to hold elections for the North-Eastern region. The third point was to remove the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution and the fourth important point was to step colonisation of Sinhalese in Tamil-dominated areas. The Sri Lankan Government have not moved an inch towards implementing the other points. But they have immediately taken up the first point. They dissolved the North-Eastern Council. All the other three points which they have agreed upon have been completely diluted. Therefore, the LTTE persons became vigorous and the fight started between LTTE and Sri Lankan forces. I am not holding brief for the LTTE or the Sri Lankan Government. My concern is about the Tamil civilians who are living in Sri Lanka, especially in the entire Sri Lanka including the North-East region. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It is good to see both sides agreeing.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: That is because he has raised the level.

5.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It is good to see both sides agree.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Sir, he raised the evel.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Have you completed, Mr. Narayanasamy?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: With in three-four minutes I will complete, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Two minutes more. You have already taken a lot of time and you have created a lot of interruptions.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, I accuse the Central Government...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Now only you raised a valid point. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): At least you should now listen to him with patience.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Whenever we say something, they do not want to listen to us; they say "shut up". Whenever they want to hear something, they clap. I am very hurt by their behaviour, Sir. Let them not think that this is the Tamil Nadu Assembly or any other assembly. ..

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: I apologised and our leader also apologised on my behalf, but nobody came forward from that side to apologise when they asked Jayanthi Natarajan to keep "shut up."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I think nothing had gone on record.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I apologise.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I also apologise. ..

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: I apologised from the beginning.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have great regard for you. If it has hurt your feelings, I express my distress and I apologise for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I think Mr. Gopalsamy has made whatever was due. Now it serves the purpose.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, today the Tamils have no food there, no medicines there. My specific information is, the Sri Lankan Army under the fear that they would join the LTTE, physically lifted about 500 youths who were living in Jaffna and amputated their legs and hands. Sir, it is an inhuman terror and they are killing Tamils like beasts, but the present Central Government is keeping quiet and it has shown its deaf ears and this Government has not acted in a positive manner to solve the crisis. They think that it is an internal problem of Sri Lanka. There I differ from the Central Government. I have already stated that it is an issue concerning the Tamils who are living there in Sri Lanka. When we raised our voice for the Indians living in Kuwait, why not the Foreign Minister go to Sri Lanka, study the situation there and then come to the rescue of the Tamils there? Why is there discrimination? Why is the present Central Government not acting as it should act? The Foreign Minister visited the USSR, he went to Washington; why does he not pressurise the Governments which are supplying weapons to stop supplying weapons to Sri Lanka? Why do they adopt double standards? Because, the people are Tamils and so this Government is not caring for them. I castigate this Government and I accuse this Government. They have no policy of their own. Kindly They should spell out their policy what they are going to do to save the Tamils who are living in the North-Eastern region of Sri Lanka The refugees are coming in lakhs; Tamil Nadu Government is burdened. The Centre is keeping quiet. Therefore, Sir, I want this Government to spell out their policy about solving the problem that is prevalent in the North-eastern region. That is number one Number two....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Number two, the Foreign Minister should go there. ..

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, *I would like to give that suggestion* also. ...(*Interruptions*)... Let this Government, as Mrs. Indira Gandhi had warned the Sri Lankan Government. ..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): No, I can't say that.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: As Mrs. Indira Gandhi had warned Sri Lankan Government, are they prepared to warn them to stop fighting against the LTTE and killing the innocent people there? Will you do that and create an atmosphere for holding discussions with the LTTE persons to solve the ethnic issue there within the framework of unity and integrity of Sri Lanka? That is what I am very particular about. I would like to tell you...(*Interruptions*)... Sir, my point is very clear. I don't want a division of Sri Lanka. I want the Tamils and the Sinhalese to live in peace and harmony. You create that atmosphere there. Thirdly, the Sri Lankan Government should at once remove all the foreign forces entering into the region. And finally, the Government should send a parliamentary delegation from here to go to Sri Lanka and to see the problems faced by the people who are living there, especially in the north-eastern

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region; otherwise, I take it that the government is neglecting the Tamils who are living in this world, including Tamil Nadu.

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: The parliamentary delegation should be headed by Shri Narayanasamy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): There are many Swamys. Which Swamy do you want?

Now I call Mr. Nallasivan.

SHRI A. NALLASIVAN (Tamil Nadu): Honourable Vice-Chairman, within the short time at my disposal I shall try to explain the stand of my party on the Sri Lankan issue. The problem of Sri Lankan Tamils is getting more and more complicated day by day. Lakhs of Sri Lankan Tamils have been uprooted from their homes and are now living as refugees in their own homeland because of the armed conflict between the Sri Lankan security forces and the LTTE. This conflict has opened the gates for imperialism to intervene in this region. The aggravation of this conflict has led to a large number of deaths and a substantial number of casualties on both sides and to misery and starvation. Further, the Sri Lankan Tamils are subjected to aerial and naval bombardments by the Sri Lankan forces and tens of thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils are pouring into Tamil Nadu as refugees. The number of refugees has already crossed 80,000 and before the end of this month, it may cross the one lakh mark. The Sri Lankan Government is trying to annihilate a part of its own civilian population, this committing the worst form of human rights violation. The present conflict is due to the policies of the Premadasa Government and the LTTE joining together to demand withdrawal of the IPKF without full implementation of the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987. The Sri Lankan Government followed a deliberate policy of putting different groups of Tamil militants against each other. The Premadasa Government made the functioning of the North-eastern Council of Varadaraja Perumal impossible by making use of their understanding with the LTTE. Moreover, at that time Premadasa could not carry on the fight on two fronts, one front against the JVP in the south, and the other against the Tamil militants in the north. So he went in for an understanding with the LTTE for the sole demand of withdrawal of IPKF before implementing one of the most important provisions of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, namely, devolution of more autonomous powers to the North-eastern Council. It was unfortunate that the LTTE also, because of its motive of establishing its monopolistic domination in the north-east, fell into the trap of Mr. Premadasa and demanded the premature withdrawal of IPKF. Finally, the withdrawal was inevitable when the President of Sri Lanka demanded it. If we had stayed further, our army would have been dubbed as an army of occupation. But the present Government of India should have made consistent and concerted efforts for the implementation of the provisions of the Accord, especially devolution of more powers to the North-eastern Council. Since the continuation of the conflict will have disastrous consequences for all concerned, I request the Government of India to make the maximum efforts to bring about a cease-fire and a negotiated political settlement between the Sri Lankan Government and all the Tamil militant groups including the LTTE.

The Tamil Nadu Assembly also has passed a unanimous resolution to this effect on 23-8-90 requesting the Government of India to take the initiative and to put the maximum political and diplomatic pressure on the Sri Lankan Government to agree for a cease-fire and a political settlement

We request the Government of India to approach the LTTE also for this. We think that a political settlement can be brought about on the basis of an autonomous Tamil province within a united Sri Lanka. That may be acceptable to all sections of the Tamil and Sinhalese democratic left in Sri Lanka at least at this stage.

We also request the Government of India to help the Tamil Nadu Government financially in a liberal way to maintain the nearly one lakh refugees who have now come there and who have been accommodated in various refugee camps. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): We also thank you particularly for taking limited time. Now, Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir the first major policy decision, major foreign policy decision, of the National Front Government was to dismantle the Sri Lanka policy of the previous Congress(I) Government and, in that place, Sir, till today, the National Front Government is yet to evolve a coherent policy on Sri Lanka.

Sir, in my thinking, the Government has still not decided as to what its options are and I think that, in the meantime, it is criminal that the Government and the people of India should remain mute spectators to the gruesome tales of genocide that now the Sri Lankan army has inflicted on the people in Sri Lanka. Sir, in my opinion, the mistaken and myopic position of this Government arises out of three wrong perceptions

One is that we believe naively that the IPKF was the sole cause of all the ills in Sri Lanka, merely because it was the result of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord that was signed by Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene. They thought that the moment the IPKF left Sri Lanka things would be immediately in perfect order and harmony. Clearly they were wrong.

The second wrong perception of this Government was that Colombo would be ready and willing to accommodate the demands of the Tamils. Just because at that time it suited Colombo, President Premadasa in order to get the IPKF out, came forward and said that he would have talks with the LTTE without meaning to really agree to the genuine demands of the Tamils. In spite of the long Sinhalese rejection of all Tamil demands for many many years, they made a mistake in naively believing that the Government of Sri Lanka was committed to the Tamil demands and that the moment the IPKF came out, the Government would accommodate the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The third wrong perception was that the LTTE was the wronged party, that the Rajiv Gandhi Government did not give it its due and that if it was allowed to have its way and talk to the Sri Lankan Government, then the entire situation would have been saved.

It was in view of these wrong perceptions of the Government that the entire foreign policy or the absence of a foreign policy of this Government on Sri Lanka has let the situation to deteriorate, deteriorate from the level of 1987 when, after the accord was signed, elections were held in Sri Lanka. There were three elections, that is provincial elections, parliamentary elections and presidential elections. There was normalcy and 62 per cent of the

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people, of the electorate, exercised their votes in the North-East and 90 per cent of the Tamils came out to vote for the EPRLF and conditions started improving. Tourism also increased by more than a hundred per cent in Sri Lanka as a result of the accord. Practically a near-normal situation in Sri Lanka, because of the myopic foreign policy of the Government, has now deteriorated to an extent when we fear genocide, not fear, but face the fact of genocide against the Tamils. Things have reached such a sorry pass that there is a Press report today, and all my friends on both the sides have already, at great length and with great poignancy, drawn attention to the terrible tragedies that have been inflicted on the Tamil population in Sri Lanka. But apart from that, Sir, I do not want to take the time of the House and my own time. In order to bring into sharp focus I want to refer to this Press statement. Sir, when genocide is going on in Sri Lanka, can I, through you, ask the House to imagine that where there are only about 3000 Sri Lankan people working in the Middle East, in Kuwait, and even there for their lives, they have fled to Aman, on their way back to come back to Sri Lanka to their country, even over there 250 Tamils have been taken away from there and the Sri Lankan Embassy over there is looking after the Sinhalese as if the Tamil Sri Lankans are not Sri Lankans at all. Sir, the Sinhalese have been put in a church, in a large hall and they have been looked after, whereas the 250 Tamils were left to fend for themselves, and the Sinhalese refugees who are in Aman are saying that they would not allow these Tamils to go on the same plane, they won't allow them to come back to Sri Lanka with them. And if this is the proportion of 25 Sinhalese to one Tamil, Sir, I don't understand how the Tamils can be reduced to a fraction. Sir, these are the citizens of Sri Lanka—it is not a problem of Tamil Nadu but it is a problem of this country—how can we stand aside and watch our brethren being reduced to 1 to 25 ratio to even go back, even in such a human problem like this? Sir, they are not getting food in their camps. They apprehend that the Government in Sri Lanka will not pay even a part of the money for their passage to go back. I just mentioned this to bring this into sharp focus how deeply this poison has spread and how difficult it will be for the people of Indian origin, of Tamils to live in Sri Lanka any more, unless the Government of India takes immediate action to stop the deterioration, to stop genocide, to stop the killing.

Sir, before I go ahead, I want to lay down three parametres of my demand with the Government, and I would like to deal with each one of them.

Firstly, I endorse Mr. Narayanasamy's view, that we personally, I and he, stand for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. Sir, this was the under-feeling of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord that the former Prime Minister and the Congress President, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had entered into. We are committed to the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. We are the largest democracy in the world and it is in our interest to see that democracy, unity and integrity of a neighbouring country flourishes. But, Sir, by the same token, we are not going to stand by and allow the Tamils to be needlessly massacred, because it then becomes a human problem. We have to move in and we have to see that the Tamils in Sri Lanka are protected, for various reasons which I want to submit later.

Sir, thirdly we also have to clearly see that in the geo-political situation, let us not stop to think for a minute that we can shut our eyes to this problem. In gee-political sense Sri Lanka is vital to India and we can.

not allow any outside interference and outside powers to move into Sri Lanka and to have any kind of influence over a very vulnerable area.

It was in 1939 for the first time that Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Sri Lanka. For the first time he raised in Sri Lanka the question of the plantation labour, the state in which they were living, the Tamilian plantation workers, and he exhorted them to form themselves into an association in order to fight for their rights. This was the first political move that the Indian Government had done in Sri Lanka at that time. And the Ceylon International Congress was born at Pt. Nehru's instance. In 1983, we all know, what Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared when she forced Sri Lanka to accept, No. 1, that in view of the bloody ethnic riots that were going on and the Tamils were being totally exterminated, she declared—it is not the present Prime Minister, Shri V. P. Singh, who declared for the first time, though I am glad he made a statement like that now—it was Mrs. Indira Gandhi who declared in as early as 1983 that the Sri Lankan problem is a national problem and it has to be looked upon with the national perspective. She rushed Mr. Narasimha Rao, our Foreign Minister at that time, to Colombo. She also offered India's good offices to promote a dialogue between the then Sri Lankan Government and the TULF. All this was done as early as 1983. She told Mr. Jayewardene at that time "India cannot be regarded as just another country". Even at that time, this was in direct response to her sensitivity to the Tamil people of Sri Lanka to the sufferings that they were undergoing at that time and to her acknowledgement that this is a human problem which the people of India had a responsibility to look after and to reply to.

Sir, before I go any further, I want to place one thought before this House. While going through this problem, I came across a concept which, in international relations, is known as 'linkage politics'. Sir, James has defined it as 'a policy of internal environment linkages'. You will bear with me if I just read what he says. He says" "In order to distinguish between the initial and terminal stages of linkages ..." He referred to the former as input and the latter as output. "If you take linkages as the basic unit of analysis to define that any reckless sequence of behaviour that originates in one system, national or international, and is reacted to in another." In other words, inputs in the national environment has a significant impact upon the internal politics. "When we refer to linkage politics, we mean the process by which the compulsions of international politics also enters into and becomes integral to the foreign policy of a particular country."

Sir, it is in view of a concept like this that we cannot afford to remain a silent spectator. It is not a purely a domestic problem of Sri Lanka. We have to take into account the spill-over into India and its impact on the security of India. The people of India have to show in no uncertain terms that the people of India will not stand by and allow the genocide of the Tamilians. I want to refer to one more statement that Mrs. Gandhi made at that time. Speaking with reference to Bangladesh, Mrs. Gandhi, as the Prime Minister of this country, said: Happenings in our neighbourhood cause us grave concern." I want to use it to show that it is not that we want to play a big brother, it is not that we want to establish region hegemony over this region. But there are certain basic values and principles of human behaviour which we have to adhere to " She said:

"Happenings in our neighbourhood cause us grave concern. India was careful not to interfere in the internal affairs of any country and kept itself scrupulously aloof from

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them. But it could not help expressing its concern when the stability of the region is disturbed and could be a threat to India itself."

Another political comentator has said:

"India has no intentions of intervening in internal conflicts of a South Asian country and it strongly opposes intervention by any country in the internal affairs of any other country. India will not tolerate external intervention in a conflict situation in any South Asian Country if the intervention has any implicit or explicit anti-Indian implications. No South Asian Government must therefore ask for external military assistance with an anti-Indian bias from any country."

We are in that situation today. We have to look at it very carefully. If a South Asian country genuinely needs external help to deal with a serious internal situation....I am only referring to this in view of the latest statements of the President of Sri Lanka, Mr. Premadasa, that the talks with the LTTE will be held only with international observers. Speaking for myself, I would have serious objections if any other internal forces, Amerola or any other country, came into this region or tried to interfere with this. Even America has shown us that this is purely a security matter which concerns India and India should have a major say. But this is qualified, Sir If a South Asian country genuinely needs external help to deal with a serious internal conflict situation or with an intolerable threat to a government legitimately established, it would ask help from a number of neighbouring countries including India. The exclusion of India from such a contingency will be considered to be an anti-Indian move on the part of the government concerned. It is for this reason that I view with some doubt what Mr. Gujral, our Foreign Minister, has said totally ruling out any role of India in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. Sir, much water has flowed under the bridge. We are not in the Government now. I will state with all the emphasis at my command that the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was the best way by which the problem could have been solved because it provided...for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka it provided for all the legitimate Tamil interests, it provided that India would be a guarantor. And more than 1,200 Jawans have sacrificed their lives, spilled their blood to see that the Tamils of Sri Lanka get their just rights and to see that the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is preserved. I think that the withdrawal of IPKF was very hasty. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister has repeatedly said that the IPKF will not stay in the Island for one day longer than necessary but they wil not leave unitl they are sure that the Tamils of Sri Lanka are given their just rights. In their haste to undo what Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has done, I think, this Government has removed that basic structure by which security was provided to the Sri Lankan Tamils. And in that view of the matter I feel that we have acted in an extremely hasty way and removed it I know, Sir, this Government has categorically stated that the Indian Forces will not be sent there. I am not in a position to say anything on that. I am not demanding that. All I am demanding is that if you say that there will be no Indian intervention—that is the policy of this Government—then, you have to come out with a concrete policy on what you are going to do to protect the Tamils of Sri Lanka. I think that it is vital that they evolve some coherent policy by which now they can not only protect the Tamils of Sri Lanka from genocide but also make sure that India's security is also not jeopardised.

Sir, the problems of the Tamils have begun in Sri Lanka many years ago. And in response after Panditji's visit-

in 1939 to which I referred, several pacts were concluded. For reasons of time I do not want to go into all those, but I just want to mention them very briefly. Sir, notable among the attempts to redress the grievances of the Tamil minority were: The Bandaranaike-Selvanayagam Pact of 1957 the Tamil demands were put forward and partially accepted by the SLFP Government in 1960 the Senanayake Selvanayagam Pact of 1965 and the establishment of District Development Councils in 1981.

Sir, after that, the major problem was the question of Tamil. By the Official Language Act, 33 of 1956, 75 per cent majority of the Sinhala forced a law upon the people of Sri Lanka by which Sinhala alone would be the Official Language. Sir, Tamil is a cause. Any language is a cause that is dear to the people who speak that language. And from experience, the people of Tamil Nadu will die for their language. This was an indignity and this was a discrimination that the Tamils of Sri Lanka found intolerable. And among the various steps that were taken later, this also formed a portion of the Accord. Even earlier, Sir, there was another Act the Tamil Language Special Provision Regulation Act, 1956—which was also brought in by the Sinhala Government which was partial going back on Sinhala to the extent that without prejudice to Sinhala in the northern and eastern provinces, the official business of Government would be conducted in Tamil.

Sir, after all that, in 1981 there began to rise a strong perception that the foreign policy of Sri Lanka was prejudicial to the Indian security. The Israeli agencies and other agencies were called in to help them to fight the Tamils, to exterminate the Tamils. And Indian tenders were excluded from the oil tank development farm. And various agreements were entered into in regard to strategic relationships including military supplies from Pakistan and China. Finally, Sir, the Voice of America was given the right to broadcast from Trincomalee which really made us believe that this would be a threat both in the military sense and in every other sense to the security of India.

Sir, the point is that Sri Lanka's foreign policy has always been linked to the fact of its dependence upon external economy and technical assistance. I want to place one more fact before the House. I want to quote what President Zia has said when he visited Sri Lanka as President of Pakistan in December, 1983. Sir, he pledged his own Government's support in dealing with the Tamil insurgents. And he urged the other countries also to back Sri Lanka's policy regarding the Tamil insurgents morally politically, economically and in every other way without reservation. And I quote: "Even by sending arms" This was what the late President Zia said as early as in 1983.

In this view of the matter, I think, it is high time the Government does three things. Of course I do not want to excite anybody. I only want to confine myself to the problem. I only want to focus sharply on the problem in Sri Lanka. I do not want to give specific instances.

I would just like to point out one thing. I do not want to read it out. First of all, I plead with the Government to shed its policy of deciding that whatever the previous Government did was wrong. They have to shed their prejudice and they have to look at the matter. Just because Rajiv Gandhi did it you say that it is wrong. It is not a question of right or wrong I just want to point out here Mr. V. P. Singh, as President of the Janata Dal and as part of the National Front, made various remarks, that the I P.K.F. should not have been sent there that there was a danger that the policy might go in a wrong way etc He also said that the IPKF should be immedately withdrawn. I am glad to see now that he is saying something different. He says 'India will stand by the Tamils', though he has not said that the IPKF will be sent there; nor am I demanding that. The point that I am trying to

[Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan]

make is this. It is not a question of whether what the previous Government did was right or wrong. It is a question of actively helping the Tamils of Sri Lanka. We must agree that it is a vital national issue.

The Government of India has to formulate a policy which has a joint perception and close interaction with Government of Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu cannot have a different approach to the problem from that of the Central Government. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has denied that there is a difference in perception. I accept his denial. But I feel that sometimes they are working at cross-purposes. I feel that the Government in Delhi is so weakened by various other problems that they tend to leave the management of the Sri Lankan situation to the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu who has his problems; he has his own compulsions. I do not want to talk about that. I only want to request. I only suggest that the Central Government and the Government of Tamil Nadu should have a joint perception of the problem in Sri Lanka and only then should they evolve a coherent national policy.

Then, the question of refugees is something that we are having on a day-to-day basis in Tamil Nadu. People may not be able to appreciate the seriousness of the problem. Even as far north as Madras, suddenly, we get groups of people who come into our houses and ask for money and other things. They are in a pathetic state. They have crossed the sea. They have crossed the mines. They have left their families there. They have left everything. Their number is growing every day. They are in a very pathetic state. It is a very heart-rending human problem. It is very difficult for the people far away from the scene to appreciate it. I do not want to mention in detail the great and glorious tradition of our country, of the Tamils, of the Indians that those who come to our doorsteps will not be turned back. But I must point out that Tamil Nadu alone cannot cope with the burden when we are getting lakhs and lakhs of refugees. There must be a stop somewhere.

The Government of India should take the problem of refugees very serious and the state in which they are living. The Central Government has to come forward to extend assistance to these people. Otherwise, it will be a burden which Tamil Nadu will find extremely difficult to bear. This has to be done in two ways. One is, the Government of Inda has to intervene to see that the benocide is stopped. They have to see that the influx is stopped. It is not that we want to turn them away. We have to create such a situation there that the people of Tamil origin can live there in safety, dignity and equality. They are not Indians. They are Sri Lankans. They have to live in dignity in their country. Sir, I am just finishing. We have to create such a situation there that they can live in honour and dignity. We cannot abdicate our responsibility. We have to take it very seriously. Before I conclude I want to make two more points. One is, very often I hear the argument that this is an internal problem of Sri Lanka. Sometimes I feel that this is the basis on which the foreign policy towards Sri Lanka of this Government is based. I do not say that we should be too careful about something like this. I don't mind going on record that I do not think we should adopt a hand-off position just because they are Sri Lankans. I want to show before this hon. House that there is a very close connection between the Tamilians of Tamil Nadu and the Tamilians of Sri Lanka. This is the bond that has grown over the centuries. There are cultural bonds.

religious bonds, sentimental bonds, bonds of families. Relatives live across the border. Just because the narrow strip of water, Palk Straits,, comes in, you cannot say that they are Sri Lankans and this side they are Tamilians. Sometimes geographical barriers, national and international boundaries have very little meaning. Very often, even if these people belong to a different country, their customs, their habits, their understanding and behaviour are so identical that you feel much closer to them than you could feel about many other people. It is not a barrier that can divide the people who come from the same origin.

As early as 1983 there was an all-party delegation that met Mrs. Gandhi who was the Prime Minister and urged upon her to take up the matter of ethnic rights before the United Nations and said that the grim and inhuman killings in Sri Lanka cannot be dismissed as internal affair of that country. The memorandum also demanded various other things. The DMK party in collaboration with many other parties advocated in the Tamil Nadu Assembly a theory of intervention at that time in order to save the Tamilians. After that they even conducted a signature campaign and 10 million signatures were sent to the United Nations requesting them to call upon the Government of Sri Lanka to grant a right of self-determination That is a different issue. Associations were formed. Mrs. Gandhi assured various delegations from Tamil Nadu that she will take keen interest in the affairs of Sri Lankan Tamils. (*Time Bell*). I just wanted to read out to show how close the cultural and other bonds between the Tamils of Sri Lanka and the people of Tamil Nadu have been. I think you do not want me to continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): You make your point.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN) Even when they held conferences, we participated in their conferences. Whenever they had some problems, we have supported them. This is the bond that has been growing and you cannot just dismiss in one minute by saying that these are the internal problems of another country.

Finally, Sir, I want to make a brief reference to the situation in Tamil Nadu, only to this extent that I am not going to provoke anybody. I feel deeply concerned about the situation not only with regard to refugees but the fact that there could be militants. If there are militants in the State, I feel there could be a threat to the safety of the people of Tamil Nadu. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has asked for the assistance of the Border Security Force in order to petrol the borders of Tamil Nadu. If militants are allowed to come into the State, if they are allowed a free access with their guns, if they are allowed to bring drugs and smuggled goods with them, the entire atmosphere of Tamil Nadu will not only be vitiated but the very safety of the people of Tamil Nadu will be at stake. Therefore, the Central Government in collaboration with the Tamil Nadu Government... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: They do not have arms to fight. How are they going to bring drugs and smuggled goods?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: This is the situation in Tamil Nadu. I am just repeating what the Chief Minister has said.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have made a very good speech except the last part

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If Mr Gopalsamy says that it is a good speech, it means it is a bad speech.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I request the Central Government to extend whatever assistance is possible to the Government of Tamil Nadu so that the borders can be patrolled, the militants are nof allowed to come into the State and the State should not be allowed to be a playground of the militants.

In conclusion I just want to say....

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Or before concluding ..

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: It is because they interrupted me. In conclusion, I want to say that first of all, the Central Government has to take urgent, meaningful, positive steps to de-escalate the conflict which is going on in Sri Lanka, to stop the genocide of the innocent Tamil civilians that is going one very day. A policy has to be immediately evolved on this. Notwithstanding the statement of the hon. Prime Minister yesterday, it is just not enough to exert diplomatic pressure. We all know what this means in diplomatic parlance. So it is not enough to exert diplomatic pressure. I call upon this Government to go one step further and take positive steps to stop this genocide which is going on right next-door in Sri Lanka.

Secondly, we have to make it very clear, as the Prime Minister has done, that we stand for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and we will not allow that country to be broken up.

And, finally, I call upon the Central Government to immediately extend assistance and any manner of help that it can to the vast number of refugees who are pouring into Tamil Nadu so that the burden can be shared in a more equitable share. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Thank you for having succeeded in not provoking your traditional... I must make one amend. In fairness, Shri Yashwant Sinha should have come earlier. My apologies to Mr. Sinha.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Why? Because he is a Bihari?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Biharis are good people.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He comes from Bihar. The Foreign Minister is also from Bihar. How can he get justice from this Government?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): But the fact is that he is a good person. Biharis are good, you would appreciate.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: That is agreed.

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI: Including the Vice-Chairman.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Sinha, go ahead.

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा (बिहार): महोदय, मैं एक बात बताऊं कि बंगाल और बिहार पहले एक ही था और 13वीं सदी में बंगाल से श्रीलंका में लोग गए थे। वहीं लोग आज आपस में लड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए बिहारी इस सवाल का जवाब दे सकते हैं, इस सवाल को उठा सकते हैं।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी: इसीलिए श्रीलंका को भारत का हिस्सा बनाना चाहिए क्योंकि वह भारतीय हैं ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am a Sinha, I am not a Sinhala. Neither I am a Swamy.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): When you go to Sri Lanka, you will be a Sinhala.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I would like to say right at the beginning that when we talk of Sri Lanka, it is not a matter of fun and frolic. It is a very serious issue and even when a person like we speaks on the problem in Sri Lanka or the plight of the ethnic Tamil population in Sri Lanka, it is only with great sorrow and, as Mr. Narayanasamy said, anguish that one can speak about it. There is no other way one can speak about it. Whatever little satisfaction one can derive. I will give you myself that despite the fact that I do not have the right name, I am speaking on this problem and I am also happy in a way that a few days ago, I raised the matter through a Special Mention in this House and had drawn the attention of our Government to the plight specially of the civilian population in Sri Lanka. I am absolutely clear, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in my mind that while the problem in Sri Lanka might be of the Tamilians—the ethnic Tamil population—it is not a Tamil problem in India.

In India it is a naional problem. And all of us, coming from whatever part of the country and whichever caste or religion, we are equally concerned with this problem, we feel for our people in Sri Lanka those people who are of Tamil ethnic origin, and it is with that viewpoint it is from that angle that we must talk about that problem. It is a national problem and therefore, while certain partisan considerations were introduced or were tried to be injected into this debate I have been pleading that this is not an issue where we can take a partisan view. This is an issue where we can only take a national view.

Mr. Narayanasamy and Mrs. Natarajn have spoken about what happened in the previous regimes. They naturally, were full of praise for it. We all have our points of view on this, but I will not waste the time of this House in going ino the history and prescribing what went wrong with the policies which were followed earlier. I think that will be a waste of time. There is no point in looking into what mistakes were made But I will begin as far as we are concerned by quoting from our manifesto.

It is not that it was under the influence of the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister that a certain attitude or a certain policy has been adopted by this Government. This Government has come into power on the basis of whatever accumulated wisdom has gone into the manifesto which, one can take, has been justified by the election results. And in this I would like to say that the manifesto very clearly says:

> "The National Front will strive to secure the safety and security of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and promote lasting peace and amity amongst all sections of population in the country."

It further says:

> "It shall restore our freindly relations with Sri Lanka by wihdrawing the Indian Peace-Keeping Force."

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY. That was the blunder.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Swamy might have his point of view, others might have their points of view. But it was not a decision which was taken in a huff, it was not a decision which was taken in haste. I would like to say that over a period of time the situation which developed in Sri Lanka and the very tragic manner in which the Indian Peace-Keeping Force had to turn against the Tamils themselves, was an intolerable situation. It was a situation which no Indian could have tolerated that we send a Peace-Keeping Force and ultimately turn them against the very people they had gone to defend. How could such a situation be tolerated?

The India Peace-Keeping Force went to Sri Lanka under the provi

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sion of an accord and under these provisions of the accord, it came back from Sri Laka. The Indian Peace Keeping Force could not have stayed in Sri Lanka as Mr. Narayanasamy has said, as long as we felt the situation was bad. The Indian Peace-Keeping Force was in Sri Lanka at the request and invitation of the Sri Lanka Government and it could not have stayed in the teeth of the opposition of the Sri Lankan Government. At least, that was our understanding and, therefore a commitment was made that the Indian Peace-Keeping Force would be withdrawn.

Now it is true that the withdrawal of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force should have been preceded by a certain settlement. The mistakes which had been made earlier I am not going into the details of them could have been set right by a dialogue between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India and the Tamil group in Sri Lanka and after that, a settlement could have been arrived at under which, as we have said in this manifesto, "the various section of people could live in peace and amity; and, as Mr. Gopalsamy has said, "with dignity and honour" in their own country. I think that is the basic commitment and I don't think the National Front Government is running away from it. The Minister of State for External Affairs will state it more authoritatively than I will, but I would like to say that I don't think it is the plolicy of the Government of India to run away from the basic commitment i nour manifesto, and their basic commitment is to ensure that the Tamil population in Sri Lanka lives in peace amity, in honour and in dignity.

.All those things, all those conditions which have been promised to them through the accord which the previous Governrient and entered into, will have to be met by the Government of Sri Lanka because they are also a signatory to that accord and they have to fulfil their part of the accord.

Unfortunately, very unfortunately, the situation in Sri Lanka has deteriorated. For 10 12 weeks now a war has been going on, a literal war has been going on between the LTTE and the Sri Lakan armed forces. One could even turn a blind eye to that. But what we cannot turn a blind eye to is the suffering of the civilian population in Sri Lanka. The aerial bombing, strafing, searches, tortures; all those things which have been described with such feeling by our colleagues in this House, that is a situation, Mr. Vice-Chairman which is clearly intolerable, and I don't think there is any Member in this House or there is any one in this country who will disagree that this situation is intolerable and must be put an end to immediately, without any further loss of time. Therefore, let us define our concern in Sri Lanka.

I am entirely in agreement with the setiments expressed bp the other side that we have geo-political interests and that we cannot allow our national interests in Sri Lanka to suffer or in this whole region. From that point of view, this is a problem between the Government of Sri Lanka and the Tamilian population there, but it is a problem which equally concerns us. It is no more a foreign problem. It is no more a problem where we cannot interfere.

But along with that, let us clearly say and understand that our interest in Sri Lanka is to ensure that the Tamil population gets justice. That is our primary concern, and no Government can run away from it. And I don't think the National Front Goverment is running away from it.

Much has been said about the LTTE. I have said earlier that I do not hold any brief for them. I am personally against all kinds of violence, and I cannot justify any kind of violence on the part of the LTTE or any other group or for that matter on the part of the Sri Lankan armed forces. But, I have, Mr. Chairman, some documents here. These are letters which have been written on behalf of the

LTTE by Mr. Prabhakaran to the Prime Minister of India in 1987 and in 1988. These are the letters which clearly show that after the Indian Peace-Keeping Force went into operation against the LTTE in Sri Lanka in October, 1987, they sought peace, they sought dialogue, and that was an opportunity which was lost. We did not respond to these letters. In fact a very tragic thing happened when the emissary of the LTTE, who was taken by the Government of India to talk to Mr. Prabhakaran in Sri Lanka, was shot and killed by mistake. A gentle man called Johny was shot and killed by mistake by our own troops, and it is only after that, I think that the point of no.return was reached between the LTTE and the Government of India or the Government of Sri Lanka.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: A genuine mistake.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: It might have been a genuine mistake, but it was a very costly mistake.

Now a situation obtains where a lot of suffering has taken place, and we are getting the backlash of it in the sense that hundreds of thousands of refugees are leaving Sri Lanka and are coming to our country. A hundred thousand people, more than a hundred thousand, have come as refugees. They are staying in the most miserable conditions in Tamil Nadu. I must confess that I have not been to a refugee camp. But what I learn from our friends is that the conditions are extremely miserable. And this is again a situation which is intolerable They must go back, and they can go back only if they have a sense of security in Sri Lanka. They cannot go back if they feel insecure.

Mrs. Natarajan was mentioning about the refugees and how the people are scared about going back and how they are being discriminated against. I think it is a very inhuman situation and, therefore, we have to create conditions where these refugees can go back and they can go back only after peace is established. Therefore, having said this, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to make some very specific suggestions for action by our Government. I would like and I will be happy if the hon. Minister of State for External Affairs who is present here could respond to it. It is my view that the Government of India must take immediate steps to bring about cessation of hostilites in Sri Lanka. How they will do it, I do not know. I only know that the Government of India has diplomatic channels at its disposal, that the Government of India has political channels at its disposal, that the Government of India has a certain moral pressure which it can exercise and that the Government of India has a certain military might. The Government of India has various options and I would only say that the Government of India must exercise all possible options in order to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities in Sri Lanka. There is no way the Government of India can remain a silent spectator to the sufferings of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. Therefore, I am suggesting that the Government of India must use all the means at its disposal in order to bring this about and this should be done without any further loss of time. The bombing, strafing, and torturing all this must stop and the very sinister game which is going on of uprooting the Tamils from their homeland, from their area which has been inhabitated by them and shifting them in the name of he refugee camps and elsewhere and this very sinister game which is going on creating a cleavage between the Tamils and the Muslims, this must stop. The Government of India must use its influence to see that it is stopped. This is a very specific suggestion I am making.

Simultaneously, and this is no less important, the Government of India must send immediately all the help.

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assistance and succour so that it can ameliorate the conditions of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. This is a humanitarian approach which the Government of India must adopt immediately as a priority. The sufferings of the people of Tamil origin in Sri Lanka are indescribable. It is not merely killing which is going on but they are starving. They are not receiving medical help; wounded people are dying in thousands because medical help cannot be reached. Mr. Gopalsamy was saying what happened to the hospitals in Jaffna area. Therefore, the Government of India's bounden duty..

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Will you yield for a minute?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Yes.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: In 1987, this was attempted but the Sri Lankan Government refused to take help. Then, the Indian Government had to launch that "Operation Poomalai" Are you prepared to go that far?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am in the habit of crossing the bridge when I come to it.

I am merely saying that this is a humanitarian concern of the Government of India to immediately reach all possible help to the suffering Tamilian population of Sri Lanka so that they don't starve, they are not short of medical assistance, that they are cared for, they are looked for.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the third point which I would like to make is that the Government of India must ensure that a dialogue starts immediately between the warring factions, that means the Tamil groups in Sri Lanka and the Sri Lankan Government. This, the Government of India must ensure. The Government of India cannot afford any more to be indifferent and leave the matter to be decided between the Tamil groups and the Sri Lankan Government. We know from experience that it has again failed. It has failed in the past. It has failed once again and they have taken recourse to war in order to solve the problem. As a neighbouring country, we cannot afford to allow that situation to continue and therefore, I am suggesting that again, the Government of India must use all its influence to see that the warring groups are brought to the negotiating table and that we negotiate a settlement which will be permanent in nature and which will give to the Tamil population what is their due in Sri Lanka. Now, these I consider to be the concerns of the Government of India and these are concerns from which the Government of India can neither shrink nor can run away. Therefore, I am reiterating that the Government of India must move in this matter. It is a matter of some regret, it is a matter of some concern that is all our problems—internal and external—the Sri Lankan problem has not received the kind of attention which it should have and therefore I will suggest, a demand has been made that the Foreign Minister should visit Sri Lanka and I would endorse that demand. I would also endorse the demand that in return for the Sri Lankan Parliamentarian delegation which had visited this country, a Parliamentarian delegation from India should go across to Sri Lanka. Let the communication be there and finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to make one last point and that is that let us not merely depend on the Governments of the two countries. We are all aware and I am especially drawing the attention of Mr. Subramanian Swamy to this because he was one of the team, we all know what non-governmental presence can do. This has been demonstrated in Nepal. Let us use all the known governmental sources, influences at our disposal in order to bring about peace and amity. Mr. Gopalsamy is here. I know he has a tremendous influence in Sri Lanka with the Tamil leadership. Let us use him. Let us use

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all the influences that we can to bring together so that even beyond the framework of whatever action might be taken by the Government, we are able to bring peace, amity, brotherhood, harmony, dignity and honour to the Tamilian people in Sri Lanka. With this, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thank you. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Just listen to me. Now, I can see that it is past six but there are several names here and according to the Business Advisory Committee, the time allotted to this subject was two and half hours. Also there is a problem that we had two items listed here. One remains unfinished since last several days and the other which got started, is still hanging. The Home Minister is here. (*Interruptions*). Nobody is responsible individually but collectively, we are all responsible. So in all fairness of course...(*Interruptions*). Now I have to seek the pleasure of the House on two things. Number one, should we not continue the discussion in view of the fact that several speakers are still interested in speaking and the time allotted is still due? (*Interruptions*)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We can discuss it tomorrow.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, in the Business Advisory Committee, all the Members agreed on this Sri Lankan issue discussion beyond 6 O'clock. They all agreed. We could sit beyond 6 O'clock. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): That is the point I am reiterating. (*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We will continue tomorrow. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANRESH P. THAKUR): Yes, Mr. G. Swaminathan. Mr. Swaminathan has something to say.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, in the Business Advisory Committee meeting, there was a discussion whether the Sri Lanka issue could be concluded within two and half hours or not. Then the hon. Chairman said that we can extend the time and we can even go up to 8 o'clock and complete the discussion. This is what transpired on that day and everybody agreed to that (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. P. Shiv Shanker agreed to that.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are others who want to speak. Especially, I happen to be from Tamil Nadu and I belong to one of the major parties in Tamil Nadu. I want to get a chance to speak on this subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Not only your party, there are other parties also. There are several parties who have not got the chance yet.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I belong to an important opposition party in Tamil Nadu. (*Inerruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The discussion should continue.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Sir, one thing we can accept. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): What are you suggesting, Mr. Swaminathan?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: If you continue tomorrow, we can accept. But you cannot guillotine the whole thing.

श्री राम नरेश यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, यह राष्ट्रीय महत्व का प्रश्न है। सारा सदन इस बात से सहमत है। इस प्रश्न पर इतनी जल्दी से बहस को समाप्त नहीं करना चाहिये। इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि इसको कल के लिए

[राम नरेश यादव]

बहस के लिए रखें ताकि जो लोग आज भाग नहीं ले सके वे कल भाग ले सकें। इतना महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है इसका इस तरह से आख से ओझल नहीं करना चाहिये। यह राष्ट्रीय महत्व का प्रश्न है, मानवता का भी प्रश्न है। इसलिए इसको कल के लिए रखें ताकि और भी माननीय सदस्य भाग ले सकें और अपने विचार व्यक्त कर सकें। यही मेरा आपसे अनुरोध है।

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, in view of the fact that Mr. Biju Patnaik has flatly refused to implement the Mandal Commission report and there is a first class crisis, there is no point... (*Interruptions*). It has just come out in the press that Mr. Biju Patnaik the Chief Minister of Orissa, has refused to implement the Mandal Commission report. Therefore, we want to know, before discussing Sri Lanka, whether there is going to be a Government tonight. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*).

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री चंद्रेश पी० ठाकुर) मेरा अनुरोध यह है कि बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में यह निश्चय हुआ था..

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: We do not understand.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I will speak in English. In the Business Advisory Committee, two-and-a-half hours were allotted for this. Implicit in this decision is that it will continue regardless of the 6 o'clock time. So, in all fairness, I make this request, Let us come up to 6.30 and then we will see how much we can quicken the progress further or not. (*Interruptions*). I agree that it is a very important issue and it should be discussed with all seriousness and with the interests of all the Members of the House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman... (*Interruptions*). Just a minute. This matter came up a little earlier at 4 o'clock when we were taking up this matter for discussion. It has now been disclosed by the Members of the Business Advisory Committee that we had agreed sit beyond 6 o'clock in order to discuss this. We have known what happened to the short-duration discussion on Industrial Policy. (*Interruptions*). If we want to attach any importance to the Tamils' problem, then I say we should discuss it here and finish the discussion tonight. Otherwise, when it will come up, we do not konw. It will not come up tomorrow. There is so much of pending business. It will not come up tomorrow. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We want to discuss it tomorrow. If you are going to withdraw it, it is a different thing. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You are saying Government will not go tomorrow.

.. (*Interruptions*) ..

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I want to say something.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let us listen to Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि श्रीलंका का विषय बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है, 8 बजे तक भी शायद खत्म हो, साढ़े 7 बजे तक न हो। यह जो इडवाइजरी कमेटी का निश्चय है हम पर आंखों पर है लेकिन हमारी भी कठिनाईयां हैं तो इसको कल के लिए टाला जाए और हाउस तो बढ़ने ही वाला है.. (**व्यवधान**) इंडस्ट्रियल सिक्योरिटी और अन्य बिल आने हैं। हमारे भी कमिटमेंट्स हैं, हम लोगों के प्रोग्राम्स हैं इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि कल इसको प्रायोरिटी देकर बहस कर लें और आज छुट्टी हो जाए। (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बिजिनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी ने जो डिसिशन लिया है हम उसके खिलाफ नहीं करते हैं। एक मिनट रेड्डी साहब, मेरा सुन लीजिए। हमारे यहां सदन जब चलता है तो सदन के साथ इस पार्लियामेंट के जितने स्टाफ हैं उनको भी बैठना पड़ता है, लाइब्रेरी भी खुला रहती है और आने का प्रबंध है, बस नहीं मिलेगी ... **(व्यवधान)** लोगों को बसें नहीं मिलती हैं। जो लोग गाड़ी पर चढ़कर जाते हैं या एम०पी० लोगों के लिए एम०पी० स्पेशल बस चलती है उनको घर जाने में कोई तकलीफ नहीं लेकिन उनके बारे में सोचिए जिन्हें 13-14 किलोमीटर पैदल जाना पड़ेगा। श्रीलंका जैसे इम्पोर्टेन्ट विषय को आज रात को खत्म करने की ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। कल हम इस पर बहस करेंगे और कल भी यह बहस चले। मैं यह गुजारिश करता हूं कि कम से कम सबके केस को देखिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs wants to say something. Are you going to give a consensus of the House or your own points?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He must assure us that the Government will be there tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI JAGDEEP DHANKHAR): I do not need your advice on what I should say. I am sure the House will bear with me. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I appeal to the Members, since we had agreed in the Business Advisory Committee that they would continue the discussion till it was concluded and we would also bestow some attention on the Government business, they would try to see that this discussion is concluded today; more so, when conclusion of the discussion will give seriousness to the importance of the subject with which we are seized and since we had agreed in the Business Advisory Committee, I am quite sure all of us can forgo a few comforts by staying in the House and concluding it. As regards the employees of the Rajya Sabha Secretariat, they are as much committed to our country, to nationalism, patriotism, as we are all here; I am quite sure they will not mind it. Let us sit together to conclude this discussion.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: We are doing injustice to the employees of Parliament House. After the adjournment of the House you see the condition of our staff. They are to walk 10 kms., 11 kms. or more than that. There are no buses today.

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, after having agreed in the Business Advisory Committee to conclude the discussion, it is not fair on their part.

श्री हरबेन्स सिंह हंसपाल (पंजाब): महोदय, बिजिनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में ढाई घन्टे के लिए कहा गया था और 4 बजे से बहस शुरू हुई थी अगर साढ़े 6 बजे तक खत्म हो सकता है तो We are ready to sit late. अगर यह कल को जाना है तो फिर सारी बहस कल कर लीजिए We are ready to sit up to 6.30. We abide by the decision of the Chair.

डा० अब्दुल अहमद खान (राजस्थान): महोदय, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: When this question was raised in the Business Advisory Committee the honourable Chairman suggested that the discussion should be concluded and for that the Congress-I said that for the Sri Lankan issue they were prepared to sit till late in the night. This was what was consented to by the Congress Party itself and all the Members of the Business Advisory Committee agreed to it. Now why should they go back on it?

डा० अबरा अहम: खान: महोदय, जो अहलुवालिया जी ने बातें कीं, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए हाऊस को एड र्न किया जाए।

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We are not passing a Bill or implementing it tomorrow. Is the Government bringing a resolution and passing it tomorrow that we should conclude the discussion today? Are we going to take some action tomorrow? Is it so urgent?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: On the day when it was so agreed in the Business Advisory Committee we did not know that we were going to have a Mahabandh today.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY (Uttar Pradesh): Even the Press has supported us. There is no one in the Press gallery.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): Are you speaking for the gallery?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: When I spoke, they were listening.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: क्या हवा में बोलिएगा ! बोल कर क्या करिएगा, आप रहेंगा ही नहीं !

श्री राम नरेश यादव: मान्यवर, देखें यहां प्रैस के लोग भी नहीं हैं।

उपसभापति (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर): प्रैस नहीं है, तो उससे क्या है ! हम लोग रहेंगे, तो प्रैस भी लौट कर आ जाएगा।

Let us come to some arrangement now. First, referring to the remark made by Shri Yashwant Sinha earlier as to what happens to a topic which we do not conclude on a particular day and try to roll it over when it has a tendency to get lost, I would like to submit that I hope the Industrial Policy Resolution has not been lost, it should be restored and restored with priority. I am sure the Government will take note of it. The other qeustion is this. The Home Minister is here now. I had earlier observed that at 6 o'clock he should come and see the mood of the House so that we could resolve the issue. We have one choice, that we postpone the discussion on Sri Lanka at this stage keeping in view the feeling of the House which is in no mood to seriously discuss it, to continue it...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI HARI KISHORE SINGH): Not the whole House.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Only they.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): A section of the House. (*Interruptions*) The House is constituted of every Member. (*Interruptions*) ... However, there is no point if seriousness is not there... (*Interruption*) It is not lack of seriousness or interest in the topic but there may be something else...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We are worried about the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): But, in view of the fact that this is an issue of national significance, a discussion in this House must reflect the seriousness of the House in totality and, if it is not likely to be guaran- I submit that we may continue the discussion tomorrow. But it must start at 5.30 P.M. tomorrow... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I want to have your assurance on this. Will it be taken up tomorrow at all?.. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): It will be taken up at 5-30 P.M. tomorrow ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Can you give me an assurance that it would be taken up tomorrow? ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): What more can I say? May I submit that we can resume our discussion on the Kashmir issue now? . . . (*Interruptions*)...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, no ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Whether you take up the Sri Lanka issue or not, don't take this up now...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): We will start the discussion on Sri Lanka at 5-30 P.M. and conclude it tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11-00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 30th August, 1990.